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BUFFALO CONFERENCE AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY

POLITICIANS AND THE TRUSTS

Pecuniary Relation of Wealthy Democrats to the Trusts and the Absurdity of Their Poising as Foes of the Trusts and Friends of the People

By Imogene C. Fales, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Three years ago Mr. Bryan was defeated by his own friends, these very leaders. He drew an immense number of republican, independent, populist and some Socialist votes, but the fear that his election would injure the business world caused the democratic leaders to knife him wholesale wherever they had the power.

The abolition of trusts would cause a greater industrial disturbance than the coinage of silver; it would paralyze commerce for at least ten years, and until the business world became accustomed to the new conditions. Is it to be supposed that shrewd, money-getting politicians whose chief pursuit in life is the almighty dollar, would ever carry into execution a policy that would injure them financially? On the contrary, if we are to judge by their past careers, they would continue in their course, and aggravate the present evil legislation.

Equally fantastic and laughable is the claim by the democratic party to be the friend of the working people. It is the friend of Mammon and all unrighteousness.

In New York City American, German or Irish workmen are contemptuously thrown aside by democratic contractors and their places filled with Italians at a dollar a day. In many large cities at the present time the eight-hour law is in force, and nearly every city is under democratic rule, yet in no instance is this law enforced by the democratic authorities.

There have been several large strikes in New York for the past five years. Every time the democratic aldermen passed resolutions of sympathy for the strikers, but they never contributed one cent and they never took the first step to punish the unjust, and in some instances illegal actions of their employees.

But the resolutions did not prevent the police or the democratic administration enforcing the laws as "to peace and order and the rights of property" with a severity bordering on brutality and inhumanity.

In New York and in Chicago the party as such is in partnership with the gamblers and criminal classes and would rather arrest one thousand workmen than close one poolroom.

It is a well known fact that democratic assemblymen in the Empire state have introduced bills every year cutting down the price of gas; that these bills have been pigeon-holed or emasculated, and that the companies have paid thousands of dollars each time as legal expenses. There is scarcely a franchise in New York City but what has been given away by democratic common councils and the people deliberately robbed. How much the politician secured is unknown.

In London, with fewer franchises, the cost of municipal government is only one-third of what it is in New York City.

And this is the party which claims to be the friend of the workingman and the only proper agency through which reformers are to work for the realization of their purposes. "Consistency, thou art a jewel."

Will you walk into my parlor, says the spider to the fly;

'Tis the very prettiest parlor that ever you did spy.

The very last pronouncement of the democratic national committee avoids with rare skill all reference to the matters which most vitally concern the laborer and the citizen. It says nothing regarding the amelioration of the patent law system, which protects and even fosters such abominable monopolies as the Bell Telephone Company, the General Electric Company and the typewriter trust. It says nothing respecting municipal ownership of local franchises, and worse still, Mr. Bryan, the acknowledged leader of the democratic party, repudiates the doctrine and favors the return to old-time competition with its concomitants of sweatshops, child labor, and a minimum wage.

No, the democratic party is not undergoing resurrection, as some sanguine reformers would fain believe; it is simply masquerading in the garb of reform. Defeated in 1896 on the silver issue, and denied the spoils of war and the fat offices that victory gives, it now seeks to mount to power by sailing with the current of reform and advocating the abolition of trusts and public ownership of public utilities.

But even if the democratic party were sincere in its new professions of faith, under the leadership of Mr. Bryan, its incipient desires for Social Democratic principles would be nipped in the bud,

for Mr. Bryan today represents the conservative element in what is called the new democratic party. Three years ago the populist party was the party of reform, and the remonetization of silver its objective issue, around which all its forces centered. Mr. Bryan made that demand the slogan of the democratic party. But the public mind and the spirit of reform have swept far beyond the demands of 1896. Now it is the public ownership of public utilities that is demanded, and against that Mr. Bryan has taken his stand.

I would not waste time in going over these details of the political history of the democratic party were it not for the fact that many sincere reformers believe it possible to work through that party. To all such I may in conclusion call their attention to the treatment of the populists for the last five years. In 1892-93-94 the democracy derided and denounced the populists. In 1896 they welcomed the party with open arms and with every expression of affection and gratitude. The populists asked nothing save the success of the principle that was so dear to them. The moment the election was over the democratic leaders opened war upon their late allies, and in some of the western states they broke all their agreements, and by virtue of the strength they had gained from the populist vote they threw out of office every populist they could and replaced them with democratic henchmen. Their plan was to destroy the party and to swallow the separate fragments, and they pretty effectually did it.

Now in 1899 the democratic national committee openly declares that it will have nothing to do with populist, Socialist or any other independent organization.

The only way in which the Socialist party—I allude to the Social Democratic Party—can produce any results is to organize, proselyte and put up its own candidates, no matter how small the vote. The time is bound to come when it will hold the balance of power, and be able to dictate terms to its older rivals. The Socialist party amounted to nothing in Germany and France until it became independent of all others; from that time on its growth has been the wonder of Europe.

The smallness of our party need not dishearten us, nor make us timid in our work. The tendencies of civilization and the progress of events are on our side. Upon us rests an imperative and urgent duty, to put forth every effort in the work by agitating and converting, organizing and campaigning.

Professor Herron, in the Social Forum, asks for "some program of national redemption on which the various ideals and programs can be brought together." The program has already been given; it is for all those who are opposed to the present monopolistic competitive regime to unite under the banner of Socialism for its overthrow. The ideal is human brotherhood; humanity united in a common love under a common Father; and all the warring notes of competitive strife and hatred hushed, the melody of joy and happiness, in a universal desire for the general good resounding in its place; the united labors of all working toward the realization of one great end; the full development of human faculties and the wondrous resources of the earth that we inhabit, the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth; not a church, not a narrow ecclesiasticism, but a warm, pulsating kingdom of love; a kingdom of outwrought intelligence, that will recreate life anew and make earth a paradise of delights. This is the ideal. The aim is to establish a co-operative commonwealth, a true republic in which poverty of mind and body will be unknown, and in which the administrative forces of a nation will be wielded by an enlightened population in the interests of all.

And in this Commonwealth will at last be realized that dream and longing of the ages—freedom—not merely of bodily conditions but of environment; freedom of thought and action, freedom to realize all our aspirations and legitimate desires, freedom to put forth all the mighty forces of the soul that now lie half buried within us.

This is the transformation that is to be effected and for which the time is ripe; and the means of action is the formation of a political party adequate to make the change from the old order to the new and to begin the glorious work of reformation and restoration. That party is in existence and all it needs is the strength and power that comes from growth.

Do you not know that all the evils of society, the inequality of wealth, the poverty, wrong, tyranny, corruption, crime, disease and general misery, are due wholly to the fact that the land and machinery whereby the necessities and comforts of life are produced, belong, not to the men and women who work with them, but to the wealthy few who make use of this private ownership of the means of production to enrich themselves and impoverish the working masses of the people?

CLEVELAND CAPITALISTS' DYNAMITE PLOT

STREET RAILWAY MEN'S STRIKE

A Personal Investigation and its Results—Rumor of Dynamite Plot Started by the Company—Destruction of Property Followed

By Rev. W. D. P. Bliss

Rev. W. D. P. Bliss was asked by a Philadelphia paper to write a statement of facts in regard to the Cleveland strike and this is what he says:

I believe it to be a millionaire's dynamite plot.

Is that too strong? Listen to the facts as I believe them to be, only promising that I like to get my facts on the spot and so I have come here to Cleveland, and the following is what I learn from reliable, sober and unprejudiced observers, not workmen, on the spot:

1. Certain street railway interests in Cleveland found themselves possessed of cars and other property, which, through long use, needed replacing by new cars at considerable expense to the company.

2. They therefore planned to recoup themselves by getting hold of the stock of another company, consolidating the two companies, forcing up the shares to the highest value, then selling out before the slump should come.

3. In this they finally succeeded. They formed the consolidation, forced up the stock, and promised the public better service and more accommodations.

4. To do this, without expense, they bought few or no cars and employed few or no men. They simply employed the old men longer hours and made them drive the cars at faster and illegal rates of speed. They employed some men for special runs and certain hours, which compelled them to be in some cases to be in the car sheds waiting for runs from 5 o'clock a. m. to 1:30 a. m. the next morning, 20 1-2 hours out of 24. The men had to run the cars so fast that many accidents occurred. Several children were killed; but children are cheap. (I confine myself to facts.)

5. The men did not like the new conditions and protested against the long hours and fast runs. They did not enjoy killing children.

6. The Consolidated Company gave no heed and employed a new superintendent famed in other cities for harsh dealing with his men. Men who dared to complain were discharged on the slightest pretext.

7. The men, seeing they were individually helpless, formed a union and finally struck, not for higher wages but for humane treatment. Knowing that without a union they were helpless, they demanded recognition of their union by the company.

8. The company refused to yield.

9. The state arbitration board tried to interfere and failed.

10. A committee appointed by the city council succeeded in getting an agreement signed by the astute attorneys of the men. The company was to re-employ 80 per cent. of the strikers and grant recognition to the men.

11. The men went back to their work.

12. The company failed to keep its agreement. Those who had struck were discharged as fast as possible.

13. The men finally struck again. Every employee of the company went out. The sympathy of the city was almost wholly with the men.

14. The company got new men (some of them loaned by companies in other cities), but people would not patronize the cars. There was no violence, and the city sympathized with the strikers.

15. It became necessary for the company to get sympathy, and therefore patronage on its side.

16. A rumor was circulated that the company was afraid that the strikers were going to use dynamite. The scab employees of the company who slept in a certain barn were warned by the company not to sleep there on a certain night for fear of dynamite.

17. That night the empty barn was blown up, and sensational reports were printed about it.

18. The state troops were called for by the company and were sent. The employees of the company were armed with loaded pistols.

19. A city ordinance was passed making it an offense, punishable by a large fine, to call a man a scab.

20. Repeatedly the scab employees of the company fired into crowds who had done nothing except to shout "scab."

21. The only fatality of the strike up to date (August 5) was a boy shot in the back by a scab motorman, who left his car and followed the boy, probably thinking the boy had shouted "scab," though the coroner's verdict is that the boy had not done so, and that the scab motorman was guilty of willful manslaughter.

22. A clergyman living on a quiet

street, which he says was almost empty at the time, saw a scab motorman shoot a boy, which shot soon drew a crowd, and the next day, according to the papers, the motorman "had defended himself against a howling mob of strikers."

23. As a result of these atrocities on the part of the scab employees of the company, and the provocation of the state troops, some slight violence was done by the strikers, a few small bombs were exploded; but the only person killed in the whole strike was the boy shot by the scab employee of the company.

24. The city still shows its faith in these facts by largely sympathizing with the strikers, and refusing to ride in the boycotted cars.

25. The papers, nevertheless, continue at so much per column to howl down "the riotous strikers" and their terrible use of dynamite.

26. The city otherwise is perfectly quiet, but the conviction grows in the public mind that the real dynamitards are the millionaires, who have used explosives to try and inflame the public against the strikers.

27. The strikers are an unusually intelligent body of men. The sympathy of the city being on their side and the boycotted cars being little used, they had nothing to gain and everything to lose by the use of dynamite. Even under grossest provocation they have committed little violence and taken no life, notwithstanding false reports to the contrary, sent out by the subsidized press.

A Bishop's Words

One of the recognized champions of the cause of labor on the Pacific coast is Bishop Johnson of the Episcopal church. From a sermon preached by him January 9 the following extract is taken:

If I were asked to define the term "industrial problem," I would say that it was the novel and perplexing result which economic law, working under new conditions, produces. It must be evident that economic laws are struggling under a series of circumstances that are likely to modify their action very perceptibly. Economic laws working under these new conditions have produced serious results. These times have been favorable to the development of condition of things that may well cause us to pause and think. Said a learned man, not long since, speaking of our wonderful prosperity: "Let us, however, say what we choose about this remarkable fact, still periodically at intervals there are terrible financial crises, which arrest the processes of trade, stop the wheels of our factories, reduce millions of our workmen to want, destroy the value of investments, rob the farmer of his markets, ruin multitudes of helpless widows and orphans." The laws of trade in this country have coldly and calmly placed from one to one hundred and fifty millions in the hands of a thousand men in New York city, while hundreds of men over the country are unable to secure remunerative work. The wealth of Croesus was estimated at eight millions of dollars, while seventy American estates under our present conditions, through what we call legitimate trade, have reached the average value of thirty-five million dollars each. The point that I would make is, that this state of things has been brought about by the action of well understood business principles, and the result has been due to the several peculiarly favoring circumstances which well understood causes have produced, and the industrial problem of our generation is, how shall these manifest injustices be avoided? How, without interfering with the rights of the rich, shall we secure for the unemployed the right to earn the competency which will give him proper support? How shall capital and labor unite, so that to each shall be given the privileges that inherently belong to each? This is the problem, and I believe it must be settled by friendly agitation. That is what is needed more than anything else.

The position which the church assumes is fearless and uncompromising, and yet it is just. But it is not by words alone that she is to aid in this great emergency. She must throw herself in some way into the thick of this great life. She must not only condemn evils, but she must encourage the exemplification of the positive principles in the lives of her people.

Every 18th man in Germany is a soldier. Every 15th man in France is a soldier, every 73rd man in England is a soldier—all non-producers, and the workingman supports them all.

What a beautiful, humane system it is! People slave all their lives to live and get ahead and then when they are old they feel they are a burden on their relatives. Under Socialism their industry would be amply rewarded, and they would not have to center their lives on work, work, work. Their old age would be honorable and honored and no one would wish them out of the way.

HISTORY AND THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE

THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY

Chain of Events Preceding the French Revolution—War and the Working Class—Union of Trades Union and Socialist Forces

By Mark Barsted, San Francisco, Cal.

A history of human society during the past fifty years is a history of the most practical and intense struggle between classes, attended by the most startling achievements in the realm of productive arts that any preceding epoch of development has bequeathed to civilization. From the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars to the middle of the century the people of continental Europe were engaged in a death struggle with the retainers of large landed estates under feudal sway, to upset the groundwork of feudalism; to usher in to the world the reign of free competition, and to elevate to the pedestal of supremacy the aristocracy of finance. We will begin with the wave of civil war that spread over all Europe in '48, and follow the chain of causes and consequences down to the present day. At this period manufacture and commerce had become predominant in France, England, German-Austria and Prussia. Bourgeois society had become the order of the day; the indispensable dictator of human destinies; and whatever remained of the old feudal order that was incompatible with the new regime must be subdued, absorbed and annihilated. Thus did the bourgeoisie of Germany, Austria and Prussia rise in rebellion in the spring of '48 and demand constitutions of Metternich and Frederick William IV. Thus in the same year did the Ledru-Rollins the Blanquis and the devotees of Louis Bonaparte in France upset the throne of Louis Phillip; convene the Constituent Legislative Assembly; remodel and reconstruct into a republican edition the constitutional charter of 1830. Now events begin to follow events in rapid and logical succession. The Frankfurt assembly, composed of delegates from Austria, Prussia and the three dozen petty states of Germany, convenes for the purpose of establishing a national constitution. Wise-aces, consisting of bargain counter statesmen and pettifogging chance orators gather together in this assemblage to conciliate the differences existing between capitalism and the then existing remnants of feudalism and to attempt to effect the unification of Germany, Austria and Prussia on paper. When, however, their notorious but unintelligible and impractical constitution was submitted to the German Diets for ratification, protests, denunciations, invectives, were hurled back from the ranks of the baronage which still held sway in many parts of Germany, especially in the Rhine provinces, where the factory system had not yet been extensively introduced. The spirit of democracy was now pervading the minds of the lower strata of society—the agriculturists, the petty traders and the working population. But the real bravos in the insurrections at Vienna, Berlin and Paris in the spring of 1848, who mounted the barricades and fought against absolute despotism, were the workmen. They have always fought the battles in every period of human society. Whether they accomplished their purpose in this middle class revolution we are not here concerned. We can only say that having been drawn into the vortex of these great revolutionary and counter-revolutionary convulsions that swept like a tornado over Europe, they played their parts in this great drama, and played them well, until the curtain on the stage of action closed down upon one of the most colossal events in the history of European civil wars.

I fear there is not space to permit the narration of the details of this event and we will suffice it to say that from this event to the present day the working class is reminded of the fact that if it would attain for itself any measures of melioration it must do so through its own conscious efforts.

From this event onward, we are particularly concerned with the development of the world's greatest movement—the political organization of the working class, marching under the banner of the Social Democratic Party.

In 1847 the "Communist Manifesto" was drawn up and adopted at London. Organization of workmen ensued. Soon we view the co-operative action of trades unions with class-conscious working class politics and the final merging of the two into a unit all over Europe. This is what we shall see has given strength and vitality to the Socialist movement of other countries. Let us unite the trade union with our political forces in this country and we will likewise gain strength and vitality. The same principle applies to the labor movement in any and in every land.

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPT. 9, 1899.

THE RICH ESCAPE TAXES

While an imperialistic government forces the people to contribute from their small means in every way that capitalist politicians can devise for the support of a war which William McKinley has been especially raised up and "divinely" called to prosecute against the Filipinos, ten thousand miles from home, the millionaires of Chicago refuse to give any information to the public authorities whereby the latter may arrive at a just conclusion in taxing the capitalists' personal property values. The people may go on forever licking war stamps, but the millionaires decline to do more than turn in merely nominal schedules and refuse any information whereby their ratings may be properly adjusted.

A few days ago a score of leading capitalists, headed by Levi Z. Leiter, were required to appear before the board of review, when all but two persisted in adhering to schedules which the authorities know to be false; and this they did to avoid payment of just taxes in support of a form of government which they are all agreed is "the finest on earth." Several of these rich "patriots" and mouth supporters of imperialism claimed to possess only a thousand or two thousand dollars' worth of personal property and only two in the bunch, H. J. Furber and D. A. Kohn, were willing to have their ratings increased.

MURDERED FOR ECONOMY

A tangled mass of iron girders, beams, columns and braces lie broken and bent on the site of the old Libby Prison, Wabash avenue, Chicago; there is nothing that anybody would care to carry away, but thirty policemen, representing the majesty of the law, patrol the wreck. In the homes of eleven Chicago families lie eleven workmen dead, as a result of the criminal carelessness and worse than criminal greed of the system we live under, which holds human lives at a cheaper rate than a scaffolding which is dispensed with to save money. The contractors who were erecting the new Coliseum, or the capitalists who expect to reap profits from it when erected, have been guilty of murder. For economy's sake somebody staked eleven human lives against the cost of providing proper safeguards against accident and the women and children of the slaughtered workmen are left helpless and without recourse in the presence of death and the loss of breadwinners.

Do workmen understand that the capitalist system regards human beings only as a commodity to be bought and sold, as so much capital to be exploited for private gain, or, if thought of as men, then only to be squeezed dry of their life forces for profits or murdered for economy? And when will workmen see that there is a better way and a possible readjustment of social relations in which life will count for more than lucre and a man will be held in higher regard than money? What hope is there in this system of grind and greed for the bereaved families of the workmen murdered to maintain "progress and commercialism"? The only relief is in Socialism. Speed the day when it shall be triumphant throughout the world.

AFTER TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

After twenty-five years' connection with the republican party, Mr. D. G. Hitchcock, editor of the Herald, Warren, Mass., bids the party of plutocracy good-bye and in a long article, in his paper dated August 25, giving his reasons for so doing, adopts the platform of the Social Democratic Party of America and declares his adhesion thereto.

Mr. Hitchcock says: "The writer has faithfully stayed within the party and worked for reforms within the state, but he has not seen them materialize to any great extent, and he will not until the people arise in their might. The only reproach he has for himself is that he did stay so long within the party—waiting for something to turn up in the way of reform. Now, thanks to brave men and women, a new party has appeared, and he leaves the republican party without regret. It has been untrue to reform since the years immediately following the civil war. * * * We believe it to be best to work with a party whose platform is unexceptionable, whose aims are ideal, practical and commendable, and whose members and whose leaders

are unquestionably and absolutely sincere in their devotion to the good of humanity. This party, whose platform we elsewhere print, is the Social Democratic Party.

"The Herald joins the endeavors of the noble men and women of the Social Democratic Party who have borne the brunt of coming out and starting this new and promising organization with all its heart."

The Warren Herald, of which Mr. Hitchcock is editor, is in its twenty-third year, is published weekly and its subscription price \$1.50 per year. We extend to our cotemporary and co-worker a cordial welcome to the cause that needs assistance against the wrongs that lack resistance, and hope that the Herald may become a power commensurate with the importance of its editor's new opportunities.

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Do you think any wrong would be done if all men and women were so organized together in society that they could work together all for all and each for each, instead of struggling with each other as now, in deadly conflict, for a chance to get a living, like wild animals fighting over food, each trying to get advantage over the other, and all suffering varying degrees of misery in consequence?

Do you think it is right for some few persons to have wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, while the many who produce that wealth have at best usually but a bare living, and often not even that?

Do you think that there would be anything wrong in securing to men and women the whole product of their labor, instead of giving them, as now, but an insignificantly small portion thereof, and permitting the wealthy to absorb the lion's share of such product?

Do you think that a certain few, who by our social and industrial arrangements should be able by means of their wealth to govern you, by buying up the men placed in public office under the pretense of protecting the rights of the community?

Do you think it essential to the well being of society that it should be divided into classes of very rich and very poor; that the rich should be able to control the means of existence of the poor and by this enormous power be able to dictate to the poor in everything, without responsibility to any?

Do you not know that every new invention in labor-saving machinery, the discoveries of science, and the application of the forces of nature to production, instead of increasing the happiness of the many, by affording them greater rewards and more leisure, as ought to be, throws men out of employment by making less men necessary to produce; and so drives men still deeper into poverty and want, but increases the already enormous and superfluous wealth of the few owners of the means of production? Are you willing that these outrages should continue? There is a way to abolish them and substitute harmony for conflict; to bring about equality of wealth, whereby everyone shall have all the necessities, comforts and luxuries now had only by the rich; to care for humanity from cradle to grave; abolish poverty, misery and wrong, and reduce disease to a minimum; in a word, to establish real fraternity and human happiness upon the earth. The remedy is very simple. The people as an organized body should be the owners of the land and all the machinery of production; and every one should have the right to be employed by such organization and receive as his or her reward the whole product of his or her labor.

Cause and Cure of Social Evils

Of what avail to regenerate man can churches be with their graceful spires pointing skyward and eloquent divines describing the ineffable glories of immortality when society's only reward for virtue and morality is poverty and starvation? "Men who are housed like pigs can hardly be expected to pray like Christians, and when life is a long flight from starvation it is not a flight that takes the fugitive towards heaven."

Whatever may be our religious beliefs or political affiliations, it is time that we open our eyes to the fact that spiritual persuasion is utterly powerless to correct the modern political and social evils so long as an inhuman social order makes a wall between man and God. They can never be corrected unless we abandon isms and factions and, remembering the words of the Great Father, "He that loveth his brother dwelleth in the light," unify in one great brotherhood with a common aim and object, the destruction of vested wrongs. Competition is at best an immoral, wasteful, brutal scramble for existence. Everywhere about us are evident its baleful effects. Monopoly is gradually swallowing up the rights of the people. At the present time it is estimated from tables compiled from census reports, tax assessments and the files of the probate courts that 9 per cent. of the whole nation owns 45 billions of the total national valuation of 62 billions of dollars or more; that is, 70 per cent. of the

whole wealth of the country, leaving but 29 billions to be divided among the remaining 91 per cent. of the population.

Corporations are daily formed so vast in their operations that they almost dwarf our states. Society has begun to resolve itself into two distinct classes—bourgeoisie and proletarians—and through the "iron law of wages" the great masses of the people are gradually sinking into a condition worse than slavery. There is now no opportunity left for starting in business in a small way, unless backed by large capital. One after another syndicates are taking hold of the different business industries which were formerly operated by a large number of employers who have since become employees. You and I may yet be able to hold our own, but the day will come when we, too, will be caught in the whirlpool and submerged.

The money power has become so great that its influence practically controls the legislative department of government. Council chambers have become mere auction rooms where public franchises are sold to the highest bidder. The United States Senate is very appropriately called "the rich men's club." If this keeps on our boasted American independence will become a thing of the past and our beighted posterity worse than slaves.

When I think of these things which stand out before me as clear as lightning I marvel how it is that the sovereign people of America deliberately allow themselves to be led to destruction like so many dumb beasts to the slaughter pen. If they will, this country may be turned into a veritable garden of the gods. Its natural resources are amply sufficient for the needs of all at no more than three hours' labor per day on the part of each. Co-operation with a common aim and object, the greatest good for each in the greatest good for all, will banish forever inordinate greed with all its wasteful indulgences and shocking want with all its misery.

Man is not naturally the debased creature he appears to be; he has been made such by unnatural laws which deny him the opportunity of being otherwise.

True, there may be some individuals whose natures have become so corrupted by conditions which have their origin in the competitive system that their reform is hopeless, and there may be others whose criminality is the inheritance of their parents and discloses itself in the malformation of their crania, but these unfortunate beings are hardly accountable for their acts and should be properly classed among the criminally insane, and society can be absolutely protected from them by their segregation and can assure itself of their ultimate extinction by applying the methods already invented by science and medicine which will prevent the reproduction of their kind.

There is utterly no need for penitentiaries to maintain order among men in a country where there is equality, liberty and fraternity.

Destroy the profit system and you have subverted the "iron law of wages." It is that which produces poverty, degrades and tantalizes men and crushes and defiles the virtue of women in the midst of churches.

You who understand these things and can read the signs of the times in their true meaning; you who are pillars of the church today and who have at heart the interests of humanity and the welfare of yourselves and your posterity, go forth among your neighbors and dispel the darkness of their ignorance with the sunshine of these golden truths. There is yet hope. This is a land where every man, rich or poor, high or low, is the equal of his fellow man in the seclusion of the voting booth. The people here are the sovereign power. Nothing can become a law unless they so decree. They hold in their hand a magician's wand under whose puissant influence the leer of the criminal and the sobs of the starving will soften into an expression of contented love and enduring happiness. That wand is the ballot. If, in their blindness, they fail to see its omnipotence and in their suicidal lethargy refuse to avail themselves of its blessings, they must pay the penalty with the forfeit of their rights as men. That is the only remedy.

Chicago, Ill. Charles H. Soelke.

Men Will Differ

Lionel Levogue, in his article, "Party or League," says: "Socialism is not a question of class, it is one of moral development," and proves by this that he has a very poor utopian conception of Socialism. While there are a few of the capitalists and middle class able to look beyond the horizon of their own class, and who will join the proletariat in their fight for emancipation, it is the proletariat as a class who has to make this fight. Who are the Socialists of Europe? I would like to see the man become unwilling to live as a parasite upon his fellow men. Even the "Golden Rule Jones" lives from the surplus value created by his employees.

Besides, Socialism is not a question of moral, but of economic development. Feudalism, capitalism, in short, all economic phases have different ideas of morality, and so will Socialism have. I recommend to Comrade Lionel Levogue the study of "Principles of Scientific Socialism," by Chas. H. Vail, before he writes again on that subject.

Milwaukee.

Edw. Ziegler.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

To-day criminality is more profitable than honesty. The retaining of a soft conscience and the acquisition of hard cash are incompatible.

The state does more for its erring citizens than it does for its earning ones. Crime is the only key to national charity. Felons and idiots are housed, fed and cared for by the state, while those who are just foolish enough to be honest are allowed to starve and shiver.

If you keep the law, it won't keep you; if you break it, it will. The government under which we live has most respect for those who have least respect for it.

Who can wonder then that crime is increasing, and our jails are overflowing?

Poverty and plenty stand side by side in strange contrast to-day.

Earth never produced more than now, and labor never received less. The shop windows were never as full and inviting, and the purses of the poor were never so empty.

The salesmen never besought patronage so much, and the poor never so hopelessly refused to buy.

Nature's banquet table overflows, while labor starves at the door. The few feast, while the many fast.

The majority of the world's needy hide their poverty.

The white-crested waves are only visible, while the whole ocean lies unseen beneath. Like an iceberg, only one-eighth appears above the surface.

For every one who applies for help at a city hall or a police station there are a score who silently starve in some back tenement.

For every beggar who appeals for alms on the street, there are a dozen near by whose wants are as great, but whose courage is less.

In a certain governor's inaugural address, he stated that we must have "a government of law, and not of man."

Which meant that human need would be subservient to human greed, that life would be of less value than property, and that the poor would be compelled to fulfill the law, before they filled full themselves.

Humanity would be put into the wine-press of competition, and the wheels of law would turn mercilessly round, pressing, crushing, grinding. Men and women and babies would be crushed, and the blood-red wine would flow, and the rich would drink it to the toast of "law and order."

And when the blood is crushed out, the bloodless crushed ones would be taken out, and the coroner say, "accidental death," and a pauper coffin would receive the body of the martyr to the Reign of Law.

Law does not represent justice. It is for the protection of selfish interests. It more often bolsters a social wrong than enforces a human right.

It is as often the instrument of oppression, as the preventer of it.

It is fatal to commit crime by retail. It is the age of big things in fraud and crime. The bigger the crime, the smaller the penalty.

A robbery by a speculative corner in wheat is an act held up for example, while the theft of a loaf by the desperate father of a starving family is punishable to the fullest extent.

A drunken man, in a moment of frenzy, stabs a comrade, and is hung. A millionaire sits in his office, and by the small dagger of his pen point deliberately stabs a score of his underlings to death. The pens of the rich are more deadly than the daggers of the poor.

Poor criminals have their bodies hung in prison walls; rich criminals have their pictures hung in city halls; that's the difference.

The ears of justice may be plugged by golden coins. The eyes of justice are effectually blinded by the stirring of gold dust.

Nothing is done without a license today. Newsboys have them to sell papers; saloon-keepers have them to sell rum; capitalists have them to sell people.

A license is blood-money paid to the governmental father by one son for the privilege of fleecing another. It simply secures immunity from justice.

The secrets of capitalistic outrage are buried with the victims. The paid press is as silent as the paupers' graves into which they are flung.

The church is more interested in the crimes of Pharaoh than in the crimes of Gould. It is more concerned in the secret of the creation of life by God than in the secret of its finish by man.

The public press devotes large space to the paltry pilferings of pauperized civilians, but doesn't print a line in condemnation of the wholesale steal of Carter, the Judas of militarism.

We need not look for social salvation to either of the old parties. After all the political changes and the disrupting influences and issues of the past few years, the two main parties are still the repub-

lican and democratic heads of the same capitalistic serpent.

Neither of them have taken decided stand for a definite principle; neither of them offer any solution for the industrial problem; both alike are dominated by the same spirit of capitalistic selfishness.

The same rotten methods will be adopted by both in order to gain their ends.

An illustration of this was seen in a press account this week of the recent Ohio democratic state convention.

It was stated that if Hanna flooded the state with money in the republican interest, that McLean, the proposed candidate for vice-president, was willing to spend half a million in opposition.

And so the political game is played by millionaires, for the stake of the privilege of exploiting labor.

What have workingmen in common with capitalistic gamblers? What have the paupers of labor to do with the princes of capital?

Unite with your true comrades in the Social Democratic Party, and find real prosperity by the abolition of game, gamblers, and all, and the substitution of the co-operative commonwealth.

Merlin.

To the People of St. Louis

In such times as these all laboring men should stand shoulder to shoulder against the ever growing tyranny of concentrated wealth in private hands. It is not enough that each toiler sit within his hovel, mourning over the degeneracy of the human race and coming forth but once in four years to exercise the sacred right to cast a ballot and choose between two evils.

Bowed as he may be by the "weight of centuries," and even though he carry upon his back "the burden of the world," it is to the "stooped silent toiler" that we must look to save humanity from what is worse than monarchy, an oligarchy of wealth.

With few exceptions, who but the laborer himself has dared to raise his voice in behalf of the workers? Have we not seen Homestead? Have we not seen Pana? Have we not seen Hazleton? Has not our daily press told us that the mill-bondage of New England is worse than was the chattel slavery of the south? Do we not know that Siberian horrors pale into insignificance beside the outrages of Coeur d'Alene? Have not the miners of Shoshone county been forced to sign away their rights as freemen and to renounce all allegiance to their trades unions? Yet what have the well-fed and the well-groomed done in the midst of all this save to avert their eyes from scenes that shocked their nerves but missed their hearts and to close their nostrils to the stench of a decaying republic?

Workingmen, there is no power on earth that will bring to you the liberty and the comforts of life to which you are entitled, except your own voices, your own strength, your own votes!

If you will unite, if you will direct your thoughts to a solution of the difficulties that beset us, if you will let your voices be heard, and back your words with deeds, then your demands will be heard and granted, your rights respected and your liberties secured.

For the purpose of arousing the laboring men of St. Louis to an interest in the question of the hour, the problem of how to deal with vast accumulations of individual wealth, and with the confident expectation that it will lead to a more active and enthusiastic labor movement in this city, the undersigned committee, by authority of the three organizations it represents, hereby calls a grand mass meeting, to be held in Music Hall, Exposition Building, Saturday, Sept. 9th, 8 p. m., to be addressed by the well known champion of labor, Eugene V. Debs, upon the subject: "Trusts, the Middle Class and the Wage Workers."

All trades unionists of this city are called upon to show their loyalty to the labor movement by attending this meeting. All persons sympathizing with the labor movement and all who are interested in the subject of the meeting are cordially invited to attend.

Workingmen, we urge you to put forth every effort to make this meeting a success. Arouse, speak and act, and let your cry be: "Proletarians of all lands, unite!"

The Joint Arrangement Committee of The Central Trades and Labor Union, The Bellamy Club and the Social Democratic Party of St. Louis.

The People Must Act

An attorney for one of the greatest trusts told me recently that in his circle of wealthy clients were a large number of men who saw and felt the wrong of private ownership of these great industrial combines, but that they had to go into them or be run out of business, because in such combinations goods could be produced cheaper than in isolated and competing plants, and that as the public would not assume the ownership they had to continue in control and stockholders demanded the last cent of dividends possible. It is plainly the folly of the mass of voters in not electing men to office who believe in the public doing business, not in having business done for the benefit of a few at the expense of the many.—Appeal to Reason.

